the allegiance of all its inhabitants. This was the argument of those of the original thirteen States which passed ordinances of secession in I860 and 1861; and it was generally conceded that the case of the States admitted subsequently to the original thirteen might be left to stand or fall with that of their elder sisters.

The attitude, then, which the seceding States assumed towards the States which remained in the Union was that of foreign nations, as one by one they adopted their ordinances of secession, and withdrew their Senators and Representatives from Congress. And there can be no reasonable doubt that when, in any State, the ordinance of secession had been adopted, the people of that State—or the great majority of them at least—felt that their allegiance was now due solely to their State; and even those persons who had strongly and earnestly opposed the secession movement, whether on grounds of policy or on grounds of right, felt themselves none the less bound loyally to serve their State, now that it had seceded.

All this it is of the greatest importance to know, and continually to bear in mind, if we would understand the attitude of the Southern people during the war. They were not, in their own

opinion, *reldti* at all; they were defending their States—that is, the *nations* to which they conceived thenmelveH to belong—from invasion and conquest. The chnrac-

[1] The populations of East Tennessee and West Virginia, which were HO situated through the geographical features of their respective States as to have little in common with the bulk of their peoples, constitute notable exceptions to the remarks in the text.